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by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery. 726 628

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukckni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonɛ man at stŏ'kmate, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north. 728 622 [177]

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige. 728

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world. [437]

Kŏ'kdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribesmen to get ready to fight with the iu"laloŋkni, for instance. He was always in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that long before those of iu"lalonɛ had slain his father, Lĕ"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have 159 701 721

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159 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human
• 701 leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became
721 "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iu"laloyE for vengeance.

He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mbŏt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni
159 band went up Williamson river to the á'ukekni town at bzzûkse'was. Before
701 the fight opened, Po'moka, an á'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came to him and announced that he would join him. Kŏ'ḳdiṇka agreed because he
726 was a relative. During the battle Po'moka slipped behind Kŏ'ḳdiṇka and shot him. That was the only way they could best him; since then there has been no feud with du'kwa.

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kŏ'ḳdiṇka band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳta'sa. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mbŏt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iu"laloyE where they killed a man.

Some gu'mbŏt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mbŏt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mbŏt. The gu'mbŏtkni traveled with him to kill iu"laloṇkni, á'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mbŏt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mbŏt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lûmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848
175 and 1855.[41]
726 The Takelma descended on bzzûkse'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilûksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16–18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

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Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within their own territory.

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (*Memoirs*, 494).

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411 726 [539] 701 411 714 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma shot a presumably mythical man, called Teewis hu'lŭms (alighting flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shattered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers; one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 [191] [171] It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day. Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'kdja) to look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for, in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men. Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[554] 727 [114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).
[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

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His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms.

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities.

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have.

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned.

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were

[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 810.

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selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inevitable by the imitation of others.

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the Yurok,[559] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'lti, rich men. This was also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exercised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he received no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was introduced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges.

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

[559] Handbook, 31.

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*171 622 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led in war.[573]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[574] There is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

[701]

*171 683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[574] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

*171 622 537 [756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

[573] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[574] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[574] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 297.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	+	-	-	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	◔	-	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	701
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	◔	-	+	◔	◔	+	◔	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	±	◔	◔	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	-	+	-	-	◔	-	±	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	±	+	+	-	-	-	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	
2801. Selected by chief	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	◔	+	-	+	+	+	+	◔	◔	-	◔	-	-	-	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
2810. By shaman	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	◔	+	-	-	-	-	-	[756]
2811. Dreams	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	-	-	+							+	+	-	-	-	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	-	+	+	-	◔	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2817. Formulas against enemy	-	◔	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					◔			-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
Practice Fighting															
2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	-					◔	+	+	+	-	+	-	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	-					+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
2822. In daytime	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	◔	◔	+	+	+	-	+	◔	+	-	+	-	-	-	[535]

[MF group], or Plumas Co. [MM] Indians." NM: This section not discussed with informant. MV: Informant lacked all knowledge of war, declared she had never heard it discussed.

2771. At: "Never fought Aporige [other At group]: partners with them; Aporige helped At fight against Wintun. Also Round Mountain people [N Yana] helped; a Round Mountain man was in charge." AW: Hammawi (AE) raids mentioned by informant; AW retaliated. AE: No fights between small villages referred to collectively by outsiders as Hammawi (see note 2617); there were however feuds between villages "over women and girls, or over a doctor of 1 village poisoning the people of a near-by village." Fights between Hammawi and "Big Valley people [Atwamsini Achomawi] were rare; the Kl and the Shasta fought them. Once in awhile [Hammawi] fought the Fall River people [Achomawi proper]; then they'd pay [in settlement]. The [Hammawi] had relations at Big Valley and Fall River. The Madesi [westernmost group of Achomawi] never came into [Hammawi] territory; only the Big Valley Indians fought them." WT: Fought E Wintu groups occasionally. MM, MF: Fought each other occasionally (see note 2770). NF: See note 2770.

[648]

2780. MV: "The only people who stole young girls were White people."

2783. AE: See note 2771.

2789. SW: "Lots of stealing of money and stored food by women; this started fights [but only among the women]. Also fights arose among the women from arguments; then they grabbed each other's hair, and threw dirt in each other's faces. Men didn't steal this way, but women did."

Participants

Groups involved; combatants; leaders.--

2790. For definition of autonomous group, see elements 2617 ff.

2791. At: See note 2771. WT: Villages leagued together and asked Trinity Center and Lewiston Wintu to help them sometimes; former also occasionally called on WT for aid. MM: Sometimes asked At (Hat Creek group) to help in war; never asked MF groups, as on rather unfriendly terms with them.

2792. NF: Women never accompany war party, which is chiefly composed of young men.

[726] [701] [648]

2795. Kl: Often asked Mo to help. Mo informant also emphasized this. Kl did not pay Mo; latter got food, buckskins, other plunder. At: See note 2771. AE: Headman or "chief" of village group, if latter raided, visits headmen of other near-by village groups, discusses matter during "a big smoke." All headmen consulted then meet at winter living house of group which was attacked, and decide what to do. Headmen then tell their men to join them, when matter is settled, and war dance is held at winter house of attacked group; "then they all go off to war.

[210-A]

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] [704] [533] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?); WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

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as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing they are the shaman's "helpers."

However differently they construe the degree of individual access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the universe appears basically to be a moral order.

In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man of property is likely to be decked with many valuables contributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowledge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee —to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

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Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people, who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, extending to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8) those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished by either language or culture, although, as already mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader, Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly employed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for one month studied commercial art in Portland. 159* [464] [463] [871] [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several generations has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressiveness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredictable, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right. This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty. [619] [591] [603] [593] [153]

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches. Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence, and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive for advancement. [861]

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.